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not be of great value, it is certain that by its attractive form, the interest of the general reading public in the British dependencies in Africa will be naturally enhanced; and to this extent, the distinguished author, Sir Harry Johnston, has once more demonstrated his right to the gratitude of the friends of the Empire.

HENRY C. MORRIS.

Senates and Upper Chambers. By HAROLD W. V. TEMPERLEY.
(London: Chapman and Hall, Ltd. Pp. xvii, 343. 1910.)

This is one of the many books and briefer studies called forth by the present strained relations between the Houses of Parliament. Its facts have been brought together in the belief that there is grave danger in tampering with the historic British Constitution, if the experience of other nations with second chambers be neglected or their history misrepresented.

The book consists of five chapters, as follows: I. Introductory. This presents the danger of the present crisis to the English Constitution; the prevailing ignorance as to the practice of foreign and Colonial Upper Chambers; the inapplicability of Federal Upper Chambers for comparison with the English; and the respects in which the author deems the House of Lords unique. II. The Upper Chambers of English-Speaking Lands; their Analogies and Lessons. III. The Senates of the Continent. IV. General Considerations and Reflections. V. Applications to the Present Problem in England.

This last chapter contains the gist of the author's thought. Both his theorizing and his study of the experience of other lands have convinced him that a second chamber is essential, especially in order to secure the rights of minorities; that in upper chambers there is great danger of partisanship, and that the House of Lords, by reason of its composition, is inevitably a partisan body; that in the House of Commons the party system is a necessity, and that, since the House of Lords cannot adapt itself to democratic conditions, there is necessitated a change in its composition. For the retention of a considerable hereditary element, he adduces arguments from science; from "the view of the dependents of class ("True political justice is shown by evincing toleration and respect even towards the views and wishes of parasites and flunkys."); and from history. ("In a land where history has moulded every institution in the past, it would be a crime not to allow

it to have some share in moulding this institution in the future.”) From his study of upper chambers in other countries, he reaches the conclusion that in a developed and established democracy, the elective system (in contrast with the nominative) of limiting the hereditary power in the upper chamber is probably the only way of rendering that chamber strong and effective.

After subjecting to criticism the various proposals for the reform of the House of Lords, (that of Lord Newton’s Committee, of Mr. Balfour and the Conservative Opposition, and the Liberal Resolutions) he presents his own plan;

COMPOSITION OF THE LORDS.

Hereditary Lords. (Not including Princes of the Blood Royal)	
To be elected by the total number of existing peers	100
Nominated Life Peers. To be nominated, three each year by the King, on advice of his ministers, until complete	30
Elected Members. To be chosen on the same franchise as the Commons, to sit for nine years, but one third to retire by rotation every three years.	130
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	260

The question of the powers of the reformed House of Lords he thinks will settle itself, when once the composition of the House is determined but suggests that it would be wise to abolish the financial veto of the Lords, and that for ordinary legislation the summary three-sessions procedure might be adopted, retaining for constitutional amendments, however, a full suspensory veto, an absolute deadlock being avoided by a referendum, by a simultaneous dissolution of the Lower House and of the elective part of the Upper, or by “swamping.” “The present composition and powers induce each Chamber to disagree with the other and to misrepresent its motives; the changes which our scheme introduces into both should induce them to meet, to respect, and, above all, to know one another.” The book closes with the sufficiently chastened aspiration; “At least it is no ignoble hope to believe that . . . it is not folly to dream of a time when our Constitution shall again be a thing of pride to ourselves and of wonder to others.”

More than one-third of the book is taken up with Appendixes; Tables illustrating the composition and powers of Colonial and Continental

Upper Chambers; Colonial Opinion *v.* Downing Street, in parallel columns, as to the bi-chambers in the Colonies. Thirty pages are devoted to Notes and Illustrations, and eight to A Working Bibliography.

The book represents a diligent accumulation of facts, but the results have not been set forth effectively. A fuller presentation of political conditions in some countries whose experience has been most similar to that of England would have been of more service than details as to Upper Chambers which have little to suggest. There are abundant evidences of haste; the page of Corrigenda and Errata might have been doubled. The author's references to the United States show scant acquaintance with American conditions. He dismisses consideration of the United States Senate with a word, because in his opinion its Federal composition makes it inapplicable. Yet he might have found here important light as to the effects of relatively small numbers, long terms and gradual renewal, in all of which respects it served as the model for the Upper House in France and in the English Colonies. He deems American State Senates more worthy of attention for his purpose, yet his bibliography shows no acquaintance with Reinsch's *American Legislatures* nor with any other special studies of recent date; the only one which he cites is a study of the bi-cameral system, ending with the eighteenth century. It is not easy to recognize F. N. Thorpe in "F. N. Thome." The author's desire to avoid exaggeration is certainly sustained by his statement that of "the independent States" which make up the United States, "some are as large or larger than Yorkshire or Wales."

An author who expects his painfully gathered material to be used should not grudge the time necessary to make it usable. There is no distinction in character between the footnotes scattered through this book and many of those relegated to the thirty-page section at the end. If the reader, for example, on p. 62 wishes to follow up n. 19. he turns to the back of the book, only to discover that there the notes are arranged in chapter-sections. After fumbling back through thirty-five pages, he finds that he had been reading Chapter II. Turning with confidence to the appropriate section, he succeeds in finding n. 19,—and that refers him to Appendix V. None but the determined reader will attempt many such quests.

GEORGE H. HAYNES.